

The Origin and the Members of the Kamytzes Family

A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography

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The Byzantine family of Kamytzes has not been systematically examined until now, although a general profile of the family has been already given in Aleksandr Kazhdan's monographs about the Byzantine aristocracy,¹ and some members have been examined or recently discovered in seal collections.² The aim

of the present paper is first to present all the known members of the family, most of whom are mentioned on published and unpublished lead seals; and second to advance new suggestions and propose corrections regarding certain identifications and readings of the sigillographic material, in order to present a more complete and coherent profile concerning the rank of this family in the social pyramid. For greater clarity we number the individual members of the family chronologically (no. 1–no. 18). In addition, we will challenge the prevailing opinion concerning the family's origin, which is held by most scholars to be Turkish.

1 A. Kazhdan, *Sotsial'nyi sostav gosподstvuyushchego klassa Vizantii XI–XII vv* (Moscow, 1974), passim, v. index p. 279; cf. A. Kazhdan and S. Ronchey, *L'aristocrazia bizantina dal principio dell'XI alla fine del XII secolo* (Palermo, 1997) (the Italian translation, with additions and corrections). Kazhdan collected all prosopographical data with family names from the eleventh and twelfth centuries available to him. This manuscript was not published (except for the families that Kazhdan considered Armenian, in 1975), but we know it from a copy in Vienna. For the sigillographic material Kazhdan relied primarily on the old, often erroneous and misleading editions. Nowadays, with the enormous progress in Byzantine sigillography, we can correct much of that, add considerably more material, and date it more accurately, thus contributing substantially to prosopography. Certain of Kazhdan's conclusions in his sociological study—in our case concerning the Kam(m)ytzes family—should be revised. It should also be stressed that in both versions we find three different suggestions regarding the origin of the family name (for practical reasons we cite the Italian version): on p. 309 a Turkish origin is called in question, on p. 318 a Greek origin is supported, on p. 333 an Arabo-Turkish one, and on p. 347 a Turkish one is accepted. In connection with his latter proposition, Kazhdan thought that the family emigrated to Byzantium during the reign of Alexios I. Cf. also the entries concerning this family by J.-C. Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963–1210)*, *Byzantina Sorbonensia* 9 (Paris, 1990), 95–96, 131, 137–38, 438, 443, 455, 458.

2 W. Seibt, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel in Österreich*, part 1, *Kaiserhof*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften,

Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik 2.1 (Vienna, 1978), no. 171; Ch. Tsiumi, “Μαρμαρίνη βυζαντινή ἐπιγραφή ἀπὸ τῆς Βέροιας,” *Κληρονομία* 3 (1971): 333–41, refers to some members of the Kamytzes family mentioned in the narrative sources; A. Savvides, “Το κίνημα του Μανουήλ Καμ(μ)ύτζη-Καμίτση στη Β. Δ. Μακεδονία και στη Θεσσαλία στις αρχές του 13^{ου} αιώνα,” *Θεσσαλικό Ημερολόγιο* 12 (1987) (Α' Αφιέρωμα στη Βυζαντινή Θεσσαλία): 145–57 = *Μελετήματα βυζαντινῆς προσωπογραφίας και τοπικῆς ιστορίας, Ανατύπωση ἀρθρων (1981–1991)* (Athens, 1992), 18, 267–77, where he gives a short catalogue of eight members of the Kamytzes family mentioned in narrative sources and a detailed analysis for Manuel Kamytzes and his revolt; I. Jordanov, *Corpus of Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria*, vol. 2, *Byzantine Seals with Family Names* (Sofia, 2006), no. 259, published one specimen of a seal of Κωνσταντῖνος Καμύτζης σεβαστός and mentioned (p. 177) four more members of the Kamytzes family attested on seals and in narrative sources; M. Campagnolo-Pothitou and J.-C. Cheynet, *Sceaux de la collection George Zacos au Musée d'art et d'histoire de Genève* (Geneva, 2016), 241 (commentary, partially incorrect), 381, no. 339.

First of all a few observations are necessary concerning the social profile of the Kamytzes family, which is recorded in the *Partitio Romaniae* (together with the family of the Kontostephanoi) as one of the richest in the empire, with possessions in the Valley of Maeander.³ According to the new evidence of seals, the family's assumed metamorphosis from an aristocratic military clan to a civilian one after 1204⁴ is definitely to be rejected, because the Kamytzai belonged to the highest military aristocracy of the Nicaean Empire,⁵ and we have no information about members with civil functions. The family is recorded as rebellious (see below) only under Alexios III, because of the emperor's disfavor, while its social decline is connected with the ascension to the throne of Michael (VIII) Palaiologos (1259),⁶ who removed from the court the families and the influential officers who were powerful under Theodoros II. Despite the scarcity of information about the family in the Palaeologan period, its position in society is documented by a seal attesting a connection (by marriage) with the Batatzes family (see below).

The surname Kamytzes is mentioned for the first time in the tenth century (summer of 904) by Pseudo-Symeon, according to whom the *droungarios* Nikephoros Kamytzes⁷ prevented the eunuch and *paradynasteuon* Samonas⁸ from escaping to Syria.⁹ Other sources, how-

ever, including Symeon Logothetes (*A Redaction*),¹⁰ Georgius Monachus Continuatus,¹¹ and Ioannes Skylitzes,¹² mention the name Nikephoros Kaminas for the *droungarios*, while according to Theophanes Continuatus the *droungarios* was called Nikephoros Kallonas.¹³ Pseudo-Symeon's information may, of course, be the result of later manuscript tradition.¹⁴



Fig. 1. Seal of Theodoros Kamytzes *strategos* (1030/1050) (DO 58.106.972, courtesy Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection)

The oldest certain member of the Kamytzes family in Byzantium is the military commander (*strategos*) Theodoros Kamytzes, with the title *protospatharios epi tou Chrysotriklinou* (no. 1). He is attested on an unpublished seal (1030/1050) in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (DO 58.106.972) (fig. 1).¹⁵ On the obverse is a bust of St. Theodore. On the reverse we read: + Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) | Θεοδώ(ρω) (πρωτο)|σπ[α]θ(αρίω) ἐπὶ τ(οῦ) | Χρ(υσο)τρικλ(ίνου) (καὶ) στρ(α)τηγ(ῶ) τ(ῶ) Καμ(ι)τζῆ. Notable for the dating of the seal are the ligature Ϡ (not used before the second quarter of the eleventh

3 A. Carile, *Partitio terrarum imperii Romaniae, Studi Veneziani* 7 (1965): 218.23–24. Cf. P. Thonemann, *The Maeander Valley: A Historical Geography from Antiquity to Byzantium* (Cambridge, 2011), 4 n. 14. About Maeander cf. also J. Seal, *Meander: East to West along a Turkish River* (London, 2012).

4 Kazhdan, *Sostav*, 174; cf. Kazhdan and Ronchey, *L'aristocrazia*, 307.

5 Georges Pachymérès, *Relations historiques*, ed. A. Failler, vol. 1, CFHB 24.1 (Paris, 1984), 1.21, p. 93.10.

6 *PLP* no. 21528.

7 Cf. Savvides, “Μανουήλ Καμ(ι)τζῆς,” 147 (121) and 153 (127) n. 18; *PmbZ* 25573.

8 For Samonas see E. Chrestou, *Αυτοκρατορική εξουσία και πολιτική πρακτική: Ο ρόλος του παραδυναστεύοντος στη βυζαντινή διοίκηση (τέλη 8^{ου}–αρχές 11^{ου} αιώνα)* (Athens, 2008), 181–97 (with bibliography), especially 184–87 for his escape.

9 Pseudo-Symeon, *Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker, CSHB 33 (Bonn, 1838), 708.4–10: Τῷ 1θ' ἔτει αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σαμωναῦ φυγῇ πρὸς Συρίαν χρησαμένου, ἐπεὶ κατεδίδωκεν αὐτὸν ὀπισθεν, ἤλθε δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν Ἄλυν, συναντᾷ αὐτῷ Νικηφόρος δρουγγάριος ὁ Καμύτζης, μὴ ἔων αὐτὸν διαπερᾶσαι. Προσφεύγει οὖν τῷ τιμίῳ σταυρῷ τοῦ Σηριχᾶ, προφασισάμενος εὐχῆς χάριν ἐκέισε ἐληλυθέναι. ἀναλαβόμενος οὖν τοῦτον ὁ τοῦ Δουκὸς Κωνσταντίνος ὑπέστρεψεν ἐν τῇ πόλει.

10 *Symeonis magistri et logothetae Chronicon*, ed. S. Wahlgren, CFHB 54.1 (Berlin, 2006), 133.42, p. 287.306.

11 Georgius Monachus Continuatus, *Vitae recentiorum imperatorum*, ed. I. Bekker, CSHB 33 (Bonn, 1838), 864, 3.

12 *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis historiarum*, ed. I. Thurn, CFHB 5 (Berlin, 1973), 184.93.

13 Ed. Bekker, CFHB 33, 369.12. Cf. John Skylitzes, *A Synopsis of Byzantine History 811–1057*, trans. J. Wortley, with introductions by J.-C. Cheynet and B. Flusin, and notes by J.-C. Cheynet (Cambridge, 2010), 178 n. 85.

14 For the chronography of Pseudo-Symeon see A. Markopoulos, *Η Χρονογραφία του Ψευδο-Συμεών και οι πηγές της* (Ioannina, 1978); A. Karpozelos, *Βυζαντινοί ιστορικοί και χρονογράφοι*, vol. 2, (8ος–10^{ος} αι.) (Athens, 2002), 401–8.

15 Mentioned by Campagnolo-Pothitou and Cheynet, *Collection George Zacos* (n. 2 above), 241.

century) and the abbreviation Γ (for the syllable τρι in Χρυσοτρικλίνου) and the ligature Β (in Καμίτζη). The seal proves that the family was already included in the military aristocracy before the Komnenian period. Kazhdan on the contrary assumed a migration of a Turkish family to Byzantium under Alexios I (see our note 1).

In the narrative sources, however, the family Kam(m)ytzes/Kamitzes does not appear until the late eleventh century, with the mention of Eustathios Kamytzes (no. 2)¹⁶ by Anna Komnene¹⁷ in 1091/1092, when he helped Gregorios Gabras, son of the *doux* of Trebizond Theodoros Gabras, to escape from Constantinople, but the operation was revealed and he was punished with incarceration.¹⁸ Later, when he regained the trust of the emperor, he became *proedros* and *chartoularios tou stavlou*;¹⁹ and then in 1098 strategos of Lampe.²⁰ In 1108 he fought against the Norman troops of the brother of Bohemond in Epirus.²¹ Five years later Eustathios, as *doux* of Nicaea, fought against the Seljuks and was captured, but managed to escape and join the army of emperor Alexios Komnenos, who sent him back to Constantinople.²² A poem of the archbishop of Cyprus (1107–1110) and afterward patriarch of Constantinople Nikolaos Mouzalon (1147–1151) (“κάν δοκῇ καὶ καμύειν τοῦ παμβεβήλου ἄρχοντος τῆς

νήσου Κύπρου”),²³ implies the name Kamytzes for a *doux* of Cyprus, according to C. Galatariotou.²⁴ If that is true, then the *doux* who served in Cyprus between 1108 and 1112, that is, before the second appointment of Philokales to the same position,²⁵ could be identified, as J.-C. Cheynet suggested, with Eustathios Kamytzes.²⁶

The evidence of seals confirms the military position of Eustathios Kamytzes as *doux*. There is a seal of *doux* Eustathios Kamytzes (late eleventh–early twelfth century),²⁷ who is to be connected with the person of the same name mentioned by Anna Komnene, although the boulloterion from which this seal was produced is of a different style from the others used by Eustathios Kamytzes as *protonobellisimos* (late eleventh–early twelfth century).²⁸ The highest honorific title held

16 For this person see also A. Gkoutzioukostas, “Byzantine Officials in the Typikon of the Monastery of Christ Pantokrator in Constantinople,” in *The Pantokrator Monastery in Constantinople*, ed. Sofia Kotzabassi, ByzArch 27 (Göttingen, 2013), 73–75; Cf. also the electronic database PBW: <http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/pbw2011/entity/person/107068>.

17 Cf. B. Skoulatos, *Les personnages byzantins de l’Alexiade: Analyse prosopographique et synthèse*, Université de Louvain, Recueil de Travaux d’Histoire et de Philologie 6^e série, fasc. 20 (Louvain, 1980), 83–85, no. 56; S. Georgiou, “Οι τιμητικοί τίτλοι επί Κομνηνών (1081–1185)” (PhD diss., Aristotle University of Thessalonike, 2005), 152.

18 *Annae Comnenae Alexias*, ed. D. Reinsch and A. Kambylis, CFHB 50.1 (Berlin and New York, 2001), 8.9.6, p. 257.92–96 and 21–22. Cf. Cheynet, *Pouvoir* (n. 1 above), 95–96, no. 123. For Gregorios Gabras see Skoulatos, *Personnages*, 107–8.

19 P. Gautier, “Le synode des Blachernes (fin 1094): Étude prosopographique,” *REB* 29 (1971): 218.8.

20 *Annae Comnenae Alexias*, 11.5.6, pp. 338.15–17.

21 *Annae Comnenae Alexias*, 13.5.1–2, pp. 397.48–398.68.

22 *Annae Comnenae Alexias*, 14.5.1 and 4–6, pp. 443.85–87 and 444.24–446.71.

23 Στίχοι Νικολάου μοναχοῦ τοῦ Μουζάλωνος, τοῦ γεγονότος ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κύπρου, ἐν τῇ παραιτήσῃ αὐτοῦ γενόμενοι, ed. S. Doanidou, “Ἡ παραίτησις Νικολάου τοῦ Μουζάλωνος ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Κύπρου: Ἀνέκδοτον ἀπολογητικὸν ποίημα,” *Ἑλληνικά* 7 (1934): 123.434.

24 C. Galatariotou, *The Making of a Saint: The Life, Times and Sanctification of Neophytos the Recluse* (Cambridge, 1991), 46 and 196–97. Cf. S. Georgiou, “Ο Ανώνυμος Καμύτζης του πεντηκοντακεφάλου του αγίου Νεοφύτου του Εγκλείστου,” *Ἑλληνικά* 62 (2012): 32.

25 A.-K. Wassiliou-Seibt, “Παρατηρήσεις σχετικά με τους στρατιωτικούς λειτουργούς της Κύπρου βάσει σφραγιστικών δεδομένων,” *Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαί* 73 (2009): 92–95, no. 10.

26 J.-C. Cheynet, “Chypre à la veille de la conquête franque,” in *Les Lusignans et l’Outre Mer* (Actes du colloque, Poitiers–Lusignan 20–24 octobre 1993) (Poitiers, 1993), 73 n. 47. See also Georgiou, “Ανώνυμος Καμύτζης,” 32.

27 IFEB 101 (mentioned by Seibt, *Bleisiegel* [n. 2 above], no. 171, p. 314 n. 6) and Collection Thierry 18. The correct reading is given by A.-K. Wassiliou-Seibt, *Corpus der byzantinischen Siegel mit metrischen Legenden*, part 2, *Siegellegenden von Ny bis inklusive Σφραγίς*, WByzSt 28.2 (Vienna, 2016): no. 1753; Obv.: [Π]άνα[γ]νε μή[τ(η)ρ τοῦ Θ(ε)οῦ | κ(αί) δέσ(ποινα), Rev.: σκέπ[ε | Ε]ὐστάθι[ο(ν)] δοῦκα τ(όν) Καμ(ύ)τζην (the first part is a correct dodecasyllable, with a caesura after the fifth syllable; the second has an incorrect caesura after the sixth syllable). Cf. also no. 1752.

28 Two similar boulloteria, with a bust of the Virgin Episkepsis: Type 1: V. Laurent, *Documents de sigillographie byzantine: La collection C. Orghidan* (Paris, 1952), no. 97 (dated eleventh–twelfth century). Parallel specimens: DO 58.106.4893; Fogg 1001 and 2241, Ermitage M-6804. Type 2 (the master of this boulloterion engraved the letter A, the abbreviation for πρωτο-, erroneously twice and omitted the given name of the owner at the beginning): I. Koltsida-Makre, *Βυζαντινά Μολυβδόβουλλα Συλλογῆς Ορφανίδη-Νικολαΐδη Νομισματικού Μουσείου Αθηνών*, Τετράδια Χριστιανικῆς Αρχαιολογίας καὶ Τέχνης 4 (Athens, 1996), no. 158 (dated to the second half of the eleventh century); PBW: <http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/pbw2011/entity/boulloterion/5007> (dated mid-eleventh century). Two parallel specimens in the former Zacos collection

by Eustathios Kamytzes († before 1136) was that of *sebastos*, mentioned only in the *Typikon* of Pantokrator (1136)²⁹ and not on the seals.³⁰ The commemoration of his name ordained by the emperor, in the liturgy on the Saturdays of Meatfare, Cheesefare, and Pentecost, indicates close relations with the imperial family before the attested relationship by marriage (see below). Eustathios became *sebastos* probably during the second decade of the twelfth century, likely as a reward for his performance as *doux* in Asia Minor.³¹

A contemporary of Eustathios Kamytzes (perhaps his brother?) is Konstantinos Kamytzes, mentioned only on a seal (late eleventh–first quarter of the twelfth century) (no. 3). The appearance of a military saint, probably Theodoros or Georgios (standing), on

(photos in Vienna), mentioned by Campagnolo-Pothitou and Cheynet, *Collection George Zacos* (n. 2 above), 241, without the name of the collection, are not attributed to this person. Another seal of the protonobellissimos Eustathios Kamytzes became known recently; it was discovered in the Ras Fortress (Serbia) and bears the following inscription: Γραφ[ᾱς] | σφραγί[ζ]ω [καί]] | λόγους Εὐσ[τα]θίου | (πρω)τονωβελ[ε]||λισίμ(ου) τῷ Καμυτζῇ, ed. V. Ivanišević and B. Kršmanović, "Byzantine Seals from the Ras Fortress," *ZRV* 50, no. 1 (2013): 454, no. 3. The first part is a correct dodecasyllable with a caesura after the fifth syllable; the second has a correct caesura after the seventh syllable, but only eleven syllables. Moreover, there is a change of case (from genitive to dative; see Wassiliou-Seibt, *Corpus*, 2: no. 1753 [commentary]). On the obverse there is the Virgin, in the type of the Hagiosorotissa, standing. Eustathios Kamytzes is not known with the title of *nobelissimos*, as P. Gautier, "L'obituaire du tyikon du Pantocrator," *REB* 27 (1969): 257 n. 54 and Skoulatos, *Personnages* (n. 17 above), 84, argued, on the base of a misread seal published by G. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'empire byzantin* (Paris, 1884; repr. Torino, 1963), 548, no. 1 and 630 (*nobelissimos* instead of *protonobellissimos*). Cf. Wassiliou-Seibt, *Bleisiegel*, 314 n. 6 (correct reading).

29 P. Gautier, "Le typikon du Christ Saveur Pantocrator," *REB* 32 (1974): 45.249.

30 C. Stavrakos, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel mit Familiennamen aus der Sammlung des Numismatischen Museums Athen*, Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik 4 (Wiesbaden, 2000), 188 n. 356 (the first name of the seal's owner on the two presented specimens [end eleventh–early twelfth century] of the [former] Zacos collection is Konstantinos instead of Eustathios).

31 *Annae Comnenae Alexias*, 14.6.3–6, pp. 448.29–449.75. Cf. Skoulatos, *Personnages*, 84–85; Gautier, “L’obituaire,” 256, supported that Eustathios was probably married to a member of the Komnenian family, as can be also concluded from his familiarity with Irene Doukaina (see *Annae Comnenae Alexias*, 14.6.6, pp. 449.55–64; but see Skoulatos, *Personnages*, 85 and Georgiou, *Τιμητικοί τίτλοι* (n. 17 above), 263–64 and n. 328, who remark that such an assumption cannot be confirmed by the information in the sources.



Fig. 2. Seal of Konstantinos Kamytzes (late eleventh–early twelfth century) (DO 58.106.1777, courtesy Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection)

the obverse indicates that he was also a military officer. On the reverse is the following inscription: Κ(ύρι)ε βοή[θ]ει | Κων(σταντίνω) τ(ῷ) | Καμ(ίτς)(η) (fig. 2).³² Both Konstantinos and Eustathios were relatives (sons?) of the above-mentioned Theodoros Kamitzes (no. 1).

The family's rise to the highest level of the aristocracy is connected with the marriage of Konstantinos Kamytzes (no. 4) to Maria Angelina Komnene (early 1130s), daughter of Theodora Komnene (daughter of Alexios I) and Konstantinos Angelos.³³ Konstantinos Kamytzes, therefore, held the honorific title of *sebastos*, mentioned also on his seals (before³⁴ and ca. the middle³⁵ of the twelfth century). He was probably the son of Eustathios Kamytzes (no. 3).³⁶ The epitaph written for

32 DO 58.106.1777.

33 Theodoros Prodromos, *Historische Gedichte*, ed. W. Hörandner, WByzSt II (Vienna, 1974), 64a, pp. 498.18–19: “Τὸν σύζυγον φῆς τῆς Κομνηνῆς Μαρίας, | τῆς πορφυρανθῆ παιδός, ἀλλὰ μητρόθεν,” and 64b, p. 499.4–6: “ἡ πορφυρανθῆ παιδός ἐκ Θεοδώρας | μητρὸς Κομνηνῆς Κομνηνῆς παῖς Μαρία, | Κωνσταντίνου δὲ σύζυγος Καμυτζίου.” Cf. K. Barzos, *H γενεαλογία τῶν Κομνηνῶν*, vol. 1–2, Βυζαντινὰ Κείμενα καὶ Μελέτα 20A–B (Thessaloniki, 1984), 1:650.

34 All the references by I. Leontiades, *Μολυβδοβούλλα του Μουσείου Βυζαντινού Πολιτισμού Θεσσαλονίκης*, Βυζαντινά Κείμενα και Μελέται 40 (Thessalonike, 2006), 145. The editor has remarked that the seals come from six to eight boulloteria, increasing the number of four proposed by N. Oikonomides, "The Usual Lead Seal," *DOP* 37 (1983): 152. See also Campagnolo-Pothitou and Cheynet, *Collection George Zacos*, no. 210, who publish another specimen of sebastos.

35 A.-K. Wassiliou-Seibt, *Corpus der byzantinischen Siegel mit metrischen Legenden*, part 1, *Einleitung, Siegellegenden von Alpha bis inklusive My*, WByzSt 28.1 (Vienna, 2011), no. 1381: Obv.: Μάρ|τυς, σεβ|α|στών| Κωνσ|τ[α]ν|τ[ί]ν(ον)| με σκ|έπ|οις, Rev.: πιστ[ο]ν| | λάτριν σ[ο]ν| | ἐκ γένους τ[ρ](ών)| Καμύτ[ζ]ον. It is not clear which saint is addressed by μάρτυς because the seal is aniconic.

36 Cf. Seibt, *Bleisiegel*, no. 171, p. 313. Cf. also Jordanov, *Corpus* (n. 2 above), 2:177, but the proposed marriage of Eustathios Kamytzes to Theodoros Gabras's daughter never took place. Barzos, *Γενεαλογία*,

him by Theodoros Prodromos († 1156/1158)³⁷ tells us that Konstantinos had been a successful and capable military officer and that he had died before his wife Maria.³⁸ We would not exclude the possibility of identifying Konstantinos Kamytzes with the sebastos Konstantinos who served as doux of Cyprus around 1135/1136 (no. 4a)³⁹ and with the Kamytzes (given name unknown) who was responsible for the famine in Cyprus (no. 4b) (ca. 1135),⁴⁰ because of the names and dates of these testimonies, despite recently expressed reservations.⁴¹

1:650 n. 4, however, considers that Konstantinos was a son or grandson or nephew of Eustathios Kamytzes.

37 There is a debate concerning the date of Prodromos's death: between 1156 and 1158 or 1165 or in the 1170s. For this problem see the references in the recent doctoral thesis of N. Zagklas, "Theodore Prodromos: The Neglected Poems and Epigrams (Edition, Commentary and Translation)" (PhD diss., University of Vienna, 2014), 63 n. 79. The author is inclined to accept the first date, because Prodromos suffered smallpox in the 1140s; we agree with him.

38 Theodoros Prodromos, 64a, pp. 498.12–17: Κωνσταντῖνον τὸ θαῦμα τῶν Καμυτζίων, | τὸν πανσέβαστον οὐ τοσοῦτον ἄξιζα, | ὅσον φρονήσει καὶ κράτει στρατηγίας | ὅς ἀμφὶ δυσμῆν, ἀμφὶ βορρᾶν καὶ νότον | καὶ τὰς ἐώας ἀστραπᾶς τοῦ φωσφόρου | πρηστῆριον πῦρ βαρβάρους ἐπερράγη." Cf. Barzos, *Γενεαλογία*, 1:651; Leontiadis, *Μολυβδόβουλλα*, 145.

39 According to two notes, one from codex Parisinus graecus 625, fol. 282v, bought by the abbot of the Kykkos Monastery in March of 1136, when Konstantinos was doux of Cyprus (see V. Laurent, "Monnaies tricephales de Jean Comnène: Notes de numismatique byzantine et d'histoire chypriote," *RN*, 5th ser., 13 [1951]: 98.12: "... καὶ δουκὸς Κύπρου Κωνσταντῖνου" [the last name is missing]), and another one from codex Robert Garrett 3, fol. 260v, a tetraevangelion, written when Konstantinos was doux of Cyprus (1136/1137) (see K. W. Clark, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Greek New Testament Manuscripts in America* [Chicago, 1937], 67.6–7: "ὁ πάνσεπτος καὶ σεβαστὸς Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ κωμυ.ησα τῆς νήσου Κύπ"; F. Evangelatou-Notara, "Σημειώματα" ἑλληνικῶν κωδίκων ὡς πηγὴ διὰ τὴν ἔρευναν τοῦ οἰκονομικοῦ καὶ κοινωνικοῦ βίου τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἀπὸ τοῦ 9^{ου} αἰῶνος μέχρι τοῦ ἔτους 1204, Βιβλιοθήκη Σοφίας Ν. Σαριπόλου 47 [Athens, 1982], 199.6). Cf. Georgiou, "Ἀνώνυμος Καμύτζης" (n. 24 above), 33–35.

40 P. Sotiroides, ed., "Πεντηκοντακέφαλον," in *Ἀγίου Νεοφύτου τοῦ Ἐγκλείστου Συγγράμματα*, ed. I. Karabidopoulos et al., vol. 1 (Paphos, 1996), 236, ch. 35.3, lines 8–14: Καὶ αὖθις θάνατον, οἷον ἐκ τοῦ λιμοῦ προσγενόμενον πρὸ χρόνων τριῶν κατείδομεν, ἐξ οὗ πᾶσα ἡλικία πικρῶς καὶ δεινῶς τότε κατεθερίζετο· τὸν δὲ πάλαι λιμὸν καὶ τὸν θάνατον ἐκείνον τὸν περιβόητον, τὸν ἐν τῇ πράξει τοῦ Καμύτζη γενόμενον, οἱ ἐκείνου αὐτόπται διηγείσθωσαν, καθότι ἐλεεινὰ καὶ φρικώδη καὶ ξένα τινα οἱ ἐκείνου θεαταὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς μὴ ἰδοῦσιν ἐκεῖνα διὰ νηπιότητα ἐλεεινῶς ἀπαγγέλλουσιν. See also Wassiliou-Seibt, "Παρατηρήσεις" (n. 25 above), no. 11, who does not exclude the possibility that the above-mentioned persons are one and the same.

41 See Georgiou, "Ἀνώνυμος Καμύτζης," 31–41 (with the relevant sources and the partial assumptions of modern research), who rejects



Fig. 3. Seal of Maria Kamytzina *sebastē* (ca. 1110/1160) (DO 58.106.1814, courtesy Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection)

A relative of the above-mentioned members of the Kamytzes family was Maria Kamytzina *sebastē*, attested only on two unpublished seals from the same boulloterion (ca. 1110/1160) (no. 5; fig. 3).⁴² On the obverse there is a bust of the Virgin (Episkepsis type). On the reverse we read the inscription Σκέπ(οις), | πάναγνε, | [Μ]αρίαν σε|[β]αστήν τ|ὴν Καμ(υ)|τζίναν (after πάναγνε the leg^τ end continues in prose). The lady owed her family name to her father (since before the Palaeologan period it was not usual for women to take their husband's name), and her title to her husband.⁴³ In addition, a Leo Kamyter participated in the Synod of the Great Palace that took place on 6 March 1166.⁴⁴ Despite the reading Καμύτηρ

the identification of Konstantinos Kamytzes with Konstantinos sebastos, doux of Cyprus (1135/1136), and the Kamytzes responsible for the famine of Cyprus (ca. 1135). The author (p. 38) also excludes the identity of Konstantinos Kamytzes, the husband of Maria Komnene, with the homonymous doux of Cyprus, because he thinks that Maria Komnene and her husband were of the same age and that the latter was too young for the post of a military commander of Cyprus. We consider that the husband of Maria Komnene could have been some ten years older, and that at the age of 22 or 24 he would not have been too young for such a post.

42 DO 58.10.1814 and Fogg 1208, ed. Wassiliou-Seibt, *Corpus* (n. 27 above), 2: no. 2157. Cf. Jordanov, *Corpus*, 2:177, who suggested Anna instead of Maria and dated the type generally to the eleventh century. His reading is adopted by *PBW* (<http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/pbw2011/entity/boulloterion/5363>) and Campagnolo-Pothitou and Cheynet, *Collection George Zacos*, 241.

43 Wassiliou-Seibt, *Corpus*, 2: no. 2157. For a different interpretation see Gautier, "L'obituaire" (n. 28 above), 257 and n. 56. Cf. Jordanov, *Corpus*, 2:177, who erroneously remarks that Anna (sic) could be Eustathios's wife.

44 PG 133:1086. His name was changed to Kamyter (Καμύτηρ) in the new edition of S. N. Sakkos, "Ὁ πατὴρ μου μείζων μου ἐστίν: Ἐριδες καὶ σύνοδοι κατὰ τὸν 11^{ον} αἰῶνα," *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς Θεσσαλονίκης* 11 (1967): 154.18–19. Cf. W. Seibt, *Bleisiegel*, no. 171 (p. 314 n. 8); P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel*

given by Sakkos, the real name is probably Kamytzes (no. 6).⁴⁵ If this hypothesis is correct, Leo could also have been the son of Eustathios (no. 1) or even of Konstantinos Kamytzes senior (no. 2).

One of the children of Konstantinos Kamytzes junior (no. 4) and Maria Komnene was the *protostrator* Manuel Kamytzes (no. 7),⁴⁶ a cousin of Isaac II and Alexios III, who was a successful military officer and took part in various missions against the rebel Branas, the Asen brothers, the crusader troops of Barbarossa, and the Vlachs and the Koumans. We know also a seal of Manuel's type dated between 1186 and 1202 with the following metrical inscription (three dodecasyllables respectively with a caesura after the fifth syllable): (Obv.) Πρωτοστράτωρος τοῦ | Καμίτζη | πατρόθεν | σφραγίς | Μανουήλ (Rev.) ἐξαδέλφου μητρόθεν: Κομνηνοδούκα τοῦ κρατοῦντος Αὐτοκρατορῶν.⁴⁷ The sign : between μητρόθεν and Κομνηνοδούκα marks the end of the second and the beginning of the third dodecasyllable. The owner indicates that his father belonged to the (high-ranking) Kamytzes family and focuses especially on his relationship with the Byzantine emperor through his mother, because his high status in the Byzantine aristocracy depended on this alliance. In the legend it is not clear whether the emperor is Isaac II or Alexios III. In 1199, when the emperor became ill, because of his power and close relationship to the imperial family, Manuel appeared as one of the contenders for the imperial throne,⁴⁸ but Alexios recovered and soon their relations

deteriorated. In 1200 he was captured during another expedition against Ibagkos,⁴⁹ who was trying to create an independent principality in the Rhodope region.⁵⁰ The emperor Alexios refused to ransom him, considering his capture an unexpected gift, presumably because of his cousin's earlier ambitions for the throne. On the contrary, Alexios III confiscated Kamytzes' (no. 7) fortune and imprisoned his wife and his son.⁵¹ Kamytzes turned to his son-in-law (since 1199) Chrysos,⁵² governor of the region of Prosakos and Strumitza, who paid the ransom for his release. Then he revolted with Chrysos against the emperor and attacked the Byzantine territory. He became briefly the ruler of an autonomous territory in northwest Macedonia and Thessaly, but was finally defeated in 1202 and found shelter with Ioannes Asen.⁵³ Manuel Kamytzes was in fact provoked by Alexios III to go into opposition and to cooperate with the Bulgarian leaders, because he had lost all his privileges and influence at the court since Alexios's ascent to the throne. By contrast, he had not been forced to revolt against Isaakios II because of his good relations with the emperor, whom he had helped in 1187 to besiege the rebellious Alexios

I Komnenos, 1143–1180 (Cambridge, 1993), 546 (index); Georgiou, *Τιμητικοί τίτλοι* (n. 17 above), 396.

45 Cf. Magdalino, *Manuel Komnenos*, 546 (s.v. Kamyteros).

46 For Manuel Kamytzes and the testimonies mentioned below see Barzos, *Γενεαλογία*, 2:690–713, no. 175; Savvides, “Μανουήλ Καμ(μ)ύτζης” (n. 2 above), 148–52 (122–26).

47 Athens 637 (correct reading by Stavrakos 107); Istanbul 842 (recently published by J.-C. Cheynet, T. Gökyildirim, and V. Bulgurlu, *Les sceaux byzantins du Musée archéologique d'Istanbul* [Istanbul, 2012], no. 2.223). Cf. Wassiliou-Seibt, *Corpus*, 2: no. 1874 (with detailed commentary). For the use of double names on Byzantine lead seals see the recent article of A. Volkoff, “Komnenian Double Surnames on Lead Seals: Problems of Methodology and Understanding,” *DOP* 69 (2015): 197–207 (with some inaccuracies in the reading, dating, and interpretation of the legends).

48 *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. J.-L. van Dieten, vol. 1, CFHB 11.1 (Berlin, 1975), 498.11–19: ἐπιλογαί τοῖνυν καὶ ψηφηφορίαι τῶν ἀρξόντων ἄλλαι τε παρ' ἄλλων ἐγίνοντο καὶ πᾶσαι πρὸς τὸ τῶν προβάλόντων ἐτελοῦντο χρήσιμον, τοῦ δ' ἀξίως βασιλεύσοντος Ῥωμαίων καὶ ὡς ἄριστα τὰ κοινὰ διακυβερνήσοντος πράγματα οὐδεὶς οὐδένα

λόγος εἰσήρχετο· ὥστε ὑπὸ τῶν ἀβελτέρων καὶ νήπια ἔτι ἐν γάλαξιν ὄντα καὶ σπαργάνοις ἐνεκλημένα πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπεκρίνετο. αὐτῶν μέντοι τῶν ἐν γένει καὶ πλούτῳ περιβλεπομένων ὁ μὲν πρωτοστράτωρ Μανουήλ ὁ Καμύτζης τῷ πρὸς μητρὸς ἀντεκάθητο θείῳ τῷ σεβαστοκράτορι Ἰωάννῃ, οὗτος δ' αὖθις κατ' αὐτοῦ ἀντωφθαλμεί. Cf. Cheynet, *Pouvoir* (n. 1 above), 443.

49 *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, 511.66–513.14; Theodoros Skoutariotes, *Historical Synopsis*, ed. K. Sathas, MB, vol. 7 (Venice, 1894; repr. Athens, 1972), 425.25–426.4; *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, vol. 1, ed. A. Heisenberg and P. Wirth (Stuttgart, 1978), no. 12, pp. 20.9–16.

50 *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, 509.18–29; Theodoros Skoutariotes, *Historical Synopsis*, 424.26–425.8.

51 *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, 513.31–514.37.

52 *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, 507.57–60.

53 *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, 535.85–93. See also *Nicetae Choniatae Orationes et Epistulae*, ed. J.-L. van Dieten, CFHB 3 (Berlin, 1972), no. 11: Τοῦ αὐτοῦ· Λόγος εἰς τὸν βασιλέα κύρ Ἀλέξιον τὸν Κομνηνόν, ὅτε ἐπανεζευξεν ἀπὸ τῶν μερῶν τῆς δύσεως, ἥνικα ὁ πρωτοστράτωρ Μανουήλ ὁ Καμύτζης, ἐξαδέλφος ὢν τοῦ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως, συμπλακεῖς τοῖς βαρβάροις καὶ κατασχεθεὶς παρὰ μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως οὐκ ἐξωνήθη, ἡγοράσθη δὲ παρὰ τοῦ Δοβρομηροῦ Χρύσου τοῦ κατέχοντος τὸν Πρόσακον καὶ τὴν Στρούμιτζαν· καὶ ἔκτοτε ἐπανεστή τῷ βασιλεῖ μετὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Χρύσου, γαμβροῦ ὄντος τῷ αὐτῷ πρωτοστράτορι ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ, ὃν καὶ ἡττήσας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐδίωξε. τότε δὲ καὶ ἀγάπην ἐποίησε μετὰ τοῦ Ἰωαννίτζη τοῦ κατέχοντος τὸν Ζυγόν; Skoutariotes, *Historical Synopsis*, 430.28–29. Cf. also the analytical references by Savvides, “Μανουήλ Καμ(μ)ύτζης,” 149–52 (123–26).

Branas (his brother-in-law).⁵⁴ The rebellion of Manuel Kamytzes against the regime of Alexios III was the reason for the brief social decline of his family, a decline which Kazhdan assumed was total after 1204.⁵⁵

Of any other issue of Konstantinos Kamytzes (no. 4) and Maria Komnene (according to Theodoros Prodromos⁵⁶) nothing is known from the narrative sources.⁵⁷ However, a recently published seal⁵⁸ (ca. last third of the twelfth century) mentions one Ioannes Komnenos, who emphasizes that his father was a Kamytzes (no. 8): (Obv.) [Ἰ]ωάννου | σφράγισμα | Κομνηνοῦ | τόδε (Rev.) γένου[ς] | Καμύτζω[ν] | πατρώθε[ν] | κατηγμέ[ν]ου. The content of the metrical inscription (two dodecasyllables with a caesura after the seventh syllable) permits us to suggest that the owner was another child of this marriage. He places the family name of his mother first to demonstrate that he belongs to the highest level of the social pyramid. His given name Ioannes derives also from the imperial family of the Komnenoi (cf. our note 47; Ioannes Komnenos *sebastokrator* was his mother's uncle).

After the capture of Constantinople by the Latins (1204) the family migrated to the court of the Lascarids in Nicaea, where it ranked among the elite aristocracy like the Batarzai, Philes, Nostongoi, Angeloi, Tarchaneiotai, Philanthropenoi, Kantakouzenoi, Libadarioi, Aprenoi, etc. (according to Georgios Pachymeres⁵⁹). Theodoros Laskaris (the future emperor of the Nicaean Empire) had left the capital before 1204, probably after some friction with his father-in-law Alexios III, and his brother Konstantinos Laskaris

followed him immediately after the fall of the city.⁶⁰ So we find Ioannes Kamytzes (no. 9) in the high military post of *mezas hetaireiarches*, in which position he became the successor of the conspirator Phlamoules in 1225.⁶¹ He may be the same person as the Ioannes Kamytzes sebastos attested on a seal with metrical inscription (no. 9a): Κύρου σε[βα]στοῦ, παρθένε, | τὰ πρακτέα | Ἰω(άννου) βλάστη[μα] | Καμύτ[ζ] <ων> | γέ<νους>, two dodecasyllables with a caesura after the fifth and seventh syllables (enjambment). Unlike βλαστός, the word βλάστημα is not often used in Byzantine inscriptions. On the obverse is the Virgin holding the child in front of her.⁶²

The above-mentioned *mezas hetaireiarches* is not identical with the *domestikos* Ioannes Kamitzes Komnenos (no. 10), praised for his military performance in an epigram of thirteen dodecasyllables on a tombstone in the Byzantine Museum of Berroia (Greece).⁶³ The beginning of the epigram focuses on the deceased's noble ancestry. The proposed (and generally accepted) identification with the homonymous *mezas hetaireiarches* (no. 9) of Ioannes III Vatatzes, who captured Adrianople briefly in 1225,⁶⁴ is problematic because the person in the epigram is mentioned only as *domestikos*. For this reason we believe that this is another person, who died young and before achieving high military rank.⁶⁵ Andreas Rhoby, on the other hand, does not exclude the identification of the *domestikos* Kamytzes with a homonymous person mentioned without title or command in the inventory of Byzantine documents (mid-thirteenth century) of the Monastery of Chilandar (Mount Athos).⁶⁶ The

54 Cheynet, *Pouvoir*, 122 and 438.

55 Kazhdan and Ronchey, *Aristocrazia* (n. 1 above), 240.

56 Theodoros Prodromos 64a, p. 298.18–21: Τὸν σύζυγον φῆς τῆς Κομνηνῆς Μαρίας, τῆς πορφυρανθόπαιδος, ἀλλὰ μητρόθεν, ἥ καὶ συνελθὼν ὡς σελήγη φωσφόρος τοὺς παῖδας ἐξέφασεν ἄλλους ἀστέρας ἐκείνον αὐτὸν εὐστοχήσας τοῦ λόγου;

57 Barzos, *Γενεαλογία* (n. 33 above), 2:713–15, no. 176, according to whom they probably died prematurely. Cf. Savvides, “Μανουήλ Καμ(μ)ύτζης,” 147 (121).

58 Campagnolo-Pothitou and Cheynet, *Collection George Zacos* (n. 2 above), 381, no. 339 (dated to the second half of the twelfth century).

59 Pachymérès, *Relations historiques*, 1.21, p. 93.10–16: Σὺν οἷς καὶ Βατάτζαι καὶ οἱ τοῦ Φιλῆ . . . σὺν Καβαλλάριους τε οἱ Νοστόγγοι καὶ οἱ Καμύτζαι, σὺν τε Ἀπρηνοῖς καὶ Ἀγγέλοις οἱ Λιβαδάριοι, Ταρχανειῶται, Φιλανθρωπηνοὶ καὶ οἱ εὐγενεῖς Καντακουζηνοί, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι οἷς ἡ μεγαλογενὴς σειρά καὶ χρυσὴ συγκεκρότητο.

60 A.-K. Wassiliou, “Ο ἄγιος Γεώργιος ὁ Διασώτης auf Siegeln: Ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte der Laskariden,” *BZ* 90 (1997): 417–24. Cf. also Wassiliou-Seibt, *Corpus* (n. 27 above), 2: no. 2519 and 2027 (in both cases especially for the commentary); E. Giarenès, *Η συγκεκρότησις καὶ ἡ ἐδραίωσις τῆς αυτοκρατορίας τῆς Νίκαιας: Ο αυτοκράτορας Θεόδωρος Α΄ Κομνηνὸς Λάσκαρις* (Athens, 2008), 46, with n. 74.

61 *Georgii Acropolitae Historia*, 2.4, p. 38.16–40.20. Cf. Savvides, “Μανουήλ Καμ(μ)ύτζης,” 147 (123); R. Macrides, *George Akropolites, The History: Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (Oxford, 2007), 174, 177, and 219.

62 Wassiliou-Seibt, *Corpus*, 1: no. 1178.

63 Recently republished by A. Rhoby, *Byzantinische Epigramme in inschriftlicher Überlieferung*, vol. 3, *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Stein nebst Addenda zu den Bänden 1 und 2* (Vienna, 2014), no. GR39.

64 Tsioumi, “Μαρμαρίνη ἐπιγραφή” (n. 2 above), 331–41.

65 Cf. Wassiliou-Seibt, *Corpus*, 2: no. 2157 (commentary).

66 Rhoby, *Byzantinische Epigramme*, 198 and n. 406.

tombstone was dated to the middle of the thirteenth century, but could be earlier.

A Kamytzes (no. 11) is mentioned (without given name, title, or command) in the correspondence of the emperor as a confidant of Georgios Mouzalon *protosebastos*, *protobestiarios*, and *megas stratopedarches* (since the end of 1255),⁶⁷ counsellor and closest friend of the emperor of Nicaea, Theodoros II Laskaris; he informed the emperor about Mouzalon's health.⁶⁸ Georgios Pachymeres mentions the Kamytzai among the elite who sought custody of the minor Ioannes VI after Georgios Mouzalon was killed (1258, nine days after Theodoros II Laskaris had passed away).⁶⁹ But we also find members far from the court of Nicaea, like the clerk Ioannes Kamytzes *diakonos*, *chartophylax*, and *primikerios ton taboullarion* (no. 12) as writer of the testament of Paulos, metropolitan of Melenikon (1216).⁷⁰



Fig. 4. Seal of Joseph Batatzes Kamytzes (late thirteenth–early fourteenth century) (courtesy Auction Classical Numismatic Group 31, 09-10.09.1994, no. 1871)

The social decline of the Kamytzes family in Nicaea is connected with the coronation of Michael (VIII) Palaiologos, who deposed all persons and families who had been close to Theodoros II Laskaris. After that date no more members of the family are recorded

in high positions in the narrative sources. However, we know that a part of the family was living on the Venetian island of Cephalonia and had possessions there, which proves its high social position: a Kamytzes (no. 13) is mentioned as landowner in that region in the year 1264.⁷¹ We also know of three more members of the Kamytzes family in the fourteenth century, and one in the fifteenth: Konstantinos Kamytzes (1357) (no. 14)⁷² and Manuel Kamytzes (1394) (no. 15) were clergymen in Constantinople,⁷³ and another Kamytzes (no. 16) was involved in a hereditary dispute in 1361;⁷⁴ while a Kamytzes (no. 17), perhaps a student of the rhetor Theodoros Potamios, is mentioned in Mazaris's *Journey to Hades* (1414).⁷⁵ Despite the sparse mention of Kamytzai in the Palaiologan period and the social decline of the family after Michael VIII, the Kamytzai continued to belong to the Byzantine aristocracy, according to a seal that also proves their relationship by marriage with the Batatzes family. Its owner (ca. last quarter of the thirteenth–first half of the fourteenth century) (fig. 4)⁷⁶ was Joseph Batatzes Kamytzes, with the title *sebastos* (no. 18): (Obv.): Σφραγίς | Ἰωσήφ σεβαστοῦ ἐκ πατρόςθεν Βατάτζου (Rev.) μητρὸς | (προ)σγεννοῦς | τῶν Καμίτζων. Two dodecasyllables, the first

71 *Tò praktikòn tῆς λατινικῆς ἐπισκοπῆς Κεφαλληνίας τοῦ 1264*, ed. Th. Tzannetatos (Athens, 1965), 72.84.86. Cf. *PLP* 10850.

72 *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel*, vol. 3, *Edition und Übersetzung der Urkunden aus den Jahren 1350–1363*, ed. M. Hinterberger, J. Koder, and O. Kresten, CFHB 19.3 (Vienna, 2001), no. 225, pp. 304.88–90: Ἐὐτελὴς ἱερεὺς Κωνσταντίνου ὁ Καμίτζης τὰ παρὰ τοῦ παναγιώτατου δεσπότης ἡμῶν (καὶ) οἰκουμενικοῦ π(α)τριάρχ(ου) ὁρισθέντα στέργων ὑπ(ἐ)γραψ(α)ς. Cf. *PLP* 10817.

73 *MM* 2: 213–14, no. 466; J. Darrouzès, *Les registres des actes du patriarchat de Constantinople* 6 (1/6): *Les registres de 1377 à 1410* (Paris, 1979), no. 2970. Cf. *PLP* 10851.

74 *Actes de Docheiariou*, ed. N. Oikonomidès, Archives de l'Athos 3 (Paris, 1984), nos. 37.9 and 22 (1361). Cf. *PLP* 92305.

75 Mazaris' *Journey to Hades: Or, Interviews with Dead Men about Certain Officials of the Imperial Court*, Greek text with translation, notes, introduction, and index, Arethusa Monographs 5 (Buffalo, New York, 1975), 44.6–13: Καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ὁ ἐκ ποταμίων βενμάτων Ἰαπετὸς ἐκεῖνος Ποτάμιος, ὁ πρὸς ὕβρεις ῥήτωρ δεινός, πρὸς τε τὸ λέγειν πρὸς τε τὸ γράφειν, ἦκε μαθεῖν καὶ οὗτος βουλόμενος περὶ τε τοῦ δυτικοῦ παιδαρίου, τοῦ τὰς αἰσθήσεις μεμυκότες Καμίτζη, εἰ ἄρα γε καὶ ἐτι δροπακίζεται, καὶ περὶ τοῦ κοκκίνου χαρχαρόδοντος Χαρσιανίτου, τοῦ ἀκολάστου τε καὶ οἰνόφλυγος, εἰ ἐτι καὶ νῦν παλλακὴν ἔχει, καὶ εἴπερ τὸν ἄκρατον ἐκροφᾷ νῦν ὥσπερ πρότερον ἔσπα. Cf. *PLP* 10849.

76 Auction Classical Numismatic Group 31, 09–10.09.1994, no. 1871, ed. Wassiliou-Seibt, *Corpus* (n. 27 above), 2: no. 2.482.

67 *Georgius Acropolites* 60.21, p. 259. Cf. Macrides, *George Akropolites*, 299.

68 *Theodori Ducae Lascaris Epistulae CCXVII*, ed. N. Festa (Florence, 1898), no. 17 (166), pp. 222.2–3: ὁ Καμύτζης τὰ περὶ τῆς σῆς ὑγείας μοι διηγόρευεν.

69 Pachymerès, *Relations historiques* 1.21, pp. 93.10–15.

70 *Actes de Vatopédi*, vol. 1, *Des origines à 1329*, ed. J. Bompair et al., Archives de l'Athos 21 (Paris, 2001), 123, nos. 12.56–59: τις [(καὶ)] ἐγγράφη τῇ θελήσει μου διὰ χειρὸς Ἰω(άν)νου διακόνου, χαρτοφύλακος (καὶ) περιμυκτοῦ τῶν ταβουλλαρ(ι)ῶν τοῦ Καμύτζη, (καὶ) ὑπεγράφη (καὶ) παρὰ τῶν προσκληθέντων μαρτύρων, μηνὶ Μαΐου (ἰνδικτιώνος) [δ'] ἔτους ςψκθ.

with a caesura after the fifth syllable (signaled by : on the seal), the second after the fifth syllable (enjambment). In Byzantine texts the usual spelling of προσγεννής is προσγενής. The owner of the seal demonstrates his descent from the families of Batatzes on his father's side and Kamytzes on his mother's; both of these were among the highest aristocracy under the Lascaris.⁷⁷ We would like to point out that the first name of the seal's owner comes from his father's family, according to an earlier seal of a Ioseph Batatzes.⁷⁸ On the other hand we learn from the funeral oration for (Alexios) Kontelinos Angelos Diplobatzes that his mother was a descendent of the families Kamytzes and Batatzes. The text is dated to the second quarter of the fourteenth century and was probably written by Manouel Philes on commission of the deceased's widow.⁷⁹ This Diplobatzes is mentioned in the sources as sebastos, *krites tou phossatou*, and *megas hetaireiarches*.⁸⁰

Turning to the origin of the family name Kamytzes, the prevailing view in modern scholarship, established by P. Gautier, is that it is Turkish, probably deriving from the Turkish officer Kamyres who was sent to Alexios Komnenos by the Seljuk sultan Süleyman (1077–1086) at the head of a troop of seven thousand mercenaries in 1083. This assumption is based on the testimony of the manuscript Vaticanus graecus 981 of the *Epitome of the Alexias*, where Kamyres is mentioned as Kamytzes.⁸¹ Gautier soon abandoned

the initial identification of Kamyres with Eustathios Kamytzes (no. 2), however, because Kamyres was a mature man when he came to Constantinople in 1083,⁸² while Eustathios is mentioned for the last time in 1116. The revised view was that Kamyres was the uncle, or possibly even the father, of Eustathios Kamytzes.⁸³

But the Turkish origin of the family is in our opinion uncertain.⁸⁴ First of all, the reading of *Kamytzes* for *Kamyres* in Vat. gr. 981 is not sufficient to prove a Turkish origin for the family, as Charles Brand, too, has correctly pointed out.⁸⁵ Furthermore, the seal of Theodoros Kamitzes (no. 1) attests the earliest certain bearer of this family name long before the testimonies about Eustathios Kamytzes (no. 2) in the *Alexiad*, who is considered by certain scholars to have been of Turkish origin. Gautier's assumption that Eustathios Kamytzes was not born in Byzantium

77 See note 59 above.

78 Wassiliou-Seibt, *Corpus*, 2: no. 2073.

79 R. S. Stefec, "Ramenta carminum byzantinorum," *BSI* 72 (2014): 342, vv. 15–17: οὗτος πέφυκεν ἐκ δουσὶν ῥιζωμάτων / Κοντελίνος Ἀγγελος Διπλοβατάτζης / Βρανᾶς Καμύτζης ἐκ γένους θηλυσπόρου; 343–44 (commentary).

80 See *PLP* 5510.

81 *Annae Comnenae Alexias*, 5.5.2, pp. 154.4–6: ὁ δὲ τηνικαῦτα πέμπει πρὸς αὐτὸν χιλιάδας ἑπτὰ μετὰ ἡγεμόνων λίαν ἐμπείρων καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Καμύρην χρόνῳ καὶ πείρᾳ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπερέχοντα. Cf. Gautier, "Lobituaire" (n. 28 above), 256, who supports that according to the manuscript of the *Epitome of Alexias* (see *Annae Comnenae Alexias*, 5.5.2, p. 154.5 [apparatus criticus: καμύτζην]) we should read *Kamytzes* instead of *Kamyres*; Gautier, "Le synode des Blachernes" (n. 19 above), 259, no. 42, who supported the Turkish origin of the Kamytzes family. His opinion was followed by other scholars. See Barzos, *Γενεαλογία* (n. 33 above), 1: 650 n. 4; J.-C. Cheynet, "Les sceaux du Musée d'Iznik," *REB* 49 (1991): 229–30, no. 13; A. Savvides, "Η μεσαιωνική μικρασιατική προσωπογραφία στα πλαίσια του Εγκυκλοπαιδικού Προσωπογραφικού Λεξικού Βυζαντινής Ιστορίας και Πολιτισμού/ΕΠΙΛΒΠ," in *Πρακτικά Ε' Πανελληνίου Συνεδρίου για τον Ελληνισμό της Μικράς Ασίας* (Thessalonike,

2000), 33 = *Βυζαντινά Τουρκικά Μεσαιωνικά: Ιστορικές Συμβολές* (Thessalonike, 2002), 413, while previously he had believed that the family was of Greek origin. See Savvides, "Μανουήλ Καμ(μ)ύτζης" (n. 2 above), 147 (121) and 152 (126) n. 14; idem, *Μελέτες Βυζαντινής Ιστορίας 11ου–13ου αιώνα* (Athens, 1995), 48–49; Georgiou, "Ανώνυμος Καμύτζης" (n. 24 above), 36 and 39, who seems to adopt the opinion of the Turkish origin of the Kamytzes family; see also recently Campagnolo-Pothitou and Cheynet, *Collection George Zacos* (n. 2 above), 241: "d'origine turque." But see C. M. Brand, "The Turkish Element in Byzantium, Eleventh–Twelfth Centuries," *DOP* 43 (1989): 11, who rejects the reading *Kamytzes* in favor of *Kamyres*, mentioned in the manuscript of the *Epitome of Alexias* and adopted by P. Gautier to develop his own theory that the family of Kamytzes was of Turkish origin. He stresses also that there is no evidence that the officer Kamyres remained in Byzantine service. The Greek origin of the family is supported by I. Leontiades, "The Evidence of Byzantine Seals Concerning Rare or Less Known Family Names," *Round Table Communications to the 22nd International Congress of Byzantine Studies* (Sofia, 22–27 August 2011), 105. (We would like to thank our colleague for giving us the full text of his as yet unpublished study.) See also note 87 below.

82 Gautier, "Le synode des Blachernes," 259–60. The same argument is also used by Cheynet, "Sceaux du Musée d'Iznik," 229–30, no. 13, who also distinguishes the two individuals. See also Skoulatos, *Personnages* (n. 17 above), 158–59, no. 97, who distinguishes Kamyres from Kamytzes as well as from another Turk also named Kamyres, who tortured and blinded Pseudo-Diogenes. See *Annae Comnenae Alexias*, 10.4.5, pp. 293.67–68. Cf. also *PBW*: <http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/pbw2011/entity/person/161175> and 161225.

83 See also Barzos, *Γενεαλογία*, 1: 650 n. 4. But cf. Skoulatos, *Personnages*, 83 n. 1, who remarks that such an assumption cannot be confirmed by the information in the sources.

84 See also Gkoutzioukostas, "Byzantine Officials," 75–77 (n. 16 above).

85 See note 79 above.

(since, according to Anna Komnene's description of the hostilities between the Byzantines and the emir Mouchoumet shortly after 1113, the latter immediately recognized the captured Eustathios,⁸⁶ which Gautier interpreted as evidence that Mouchoumet had known Eustathios as a child) must be rejected, for apart from the fact that it would have been difficult for Mouchoumet to identify in an armed man a child he had known so many years earlier, it seems to us more likely that he would recognize Eustathios from his service in Asia Minor as *strategos* of Lampe⁸⁷ and possibly from previous battles.⁸⁸

Moreover, our etymological analysis of the name, which accepts the Greek provenience,⁸⁹ contradicts the Turkish origin, which was proposed again by one of the anonymous reviewers. The proper name *καμμύτσης* derives from the verb *καμμύω/καμμύζω* 'close the eyes'⁹⁰ and the suffix *-ίτζης/-ίτσης* (cf. *καυδ κίζω* 'boast' > *καυκίτζης* 'boaster'). The presence of this word in the medieval period is documented by the family name *Καμμύτζης*, the derivative verb *καμυτζίζω*

(< *καμμύτζης* + *-ίζω*),⁹¹ and the synonym *καμμυτσούρης* (< *καμμύτσης* + *-ούρης*) 'one who closes and opens his eyes' > *καμμυτσουρίζω* 'signal lovingly by blinking'.⁹² The proper names *καμμύτσης* and *καμμυτσούρης* are also attested in the modern Greek dialects with the meaning 'he who often closes and opens his eyes'. It should be noted that the Byzantine poets punned on the verb *καμμύω* and the name *Kamytzes*: Theodoros Prodromos, for example, says in his poem "Στίχοι ἐπιτύμβιοι εἰς τὸν πανσέβαστον σεβαστὸν κύρον Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν Καμύτζην": "εἴτ' οὐ λέγεις μοι, τύμβε, τὴν Ῥώμην μύσαι | τῶν τοῦ σεβαστοῦ καμμυσάντων ὁμμάτων,"⁹³ and Manganeios Prodromos in his "Παρηγορητικὸς τῇ θυγατρὶ τῆς πορφυρογεννήτου κυρᾶς Θεοδώρας": "ἂν γὰρ ἐχθρῷ προσήγγισε τὸ δόρυ τοῦ Καμμύτζη, | καμμύειν κατηνάγκαζεν αὐτίκα τὸν βληθέντα."⁹⁴

Conclusion

In our view a Greek origin of the *Kamytzes* family is considerably more probable than a Turkish origin. We reject a migration to Byzantium under Alexios I. The family already belonged to the military aristocracy before the middle of the eleventh century, according to the seal of Theodoros *Kamytzes* protospatharios *epi tou Chrysotriklinou* and *strategos* (no. 1), the earliest certain member with this family name. His relatives are Eustathios *Kamytzes* (no. 2), attested by Anna Komnene and on seals from different stages of his career, and Konstantinos *Kamytzes* (no. 3), mentioned only on a seal.

The military aristocratic family's social rise in the framework of the new Komnenian system is attested in the twelfth century with the marriage of another Konstantinos *Kamytzes* (no. 4) (perhaps the son of Eustathios *Kamytzes* and nephew of the above-mentioned person of the same name) to Maria Komnene Angelina. Ioannes, the most common male

86 *Annae Comnenae Alexias*, 14.5.6–7, pp. 446.63–71: ὁ δὲ ἀρχισατράπης Μουχούμετ τὴν κλήσιν τοῦτον καὶ πάλαι γινώσκων καὶ τηνικαῦτα ἀναγνωρίσας ἀνακόπτει μὲν τῆς ὁρμῆς τοὺς αὐτῷ συμπλεκόμενους, ἀποβάς δὲ τοῦ ἵππου μεθ' ὧν ἔτυχε προσελθὼν ἔφη· "μὴ πρόκρινε τῆς σῆς δὲ τοῦ ἵππου μεθ' ὧν ἔτυχε προσελθὼν ἔφη· "μὴ πρόκρινε τῆς σῆς σωτηρίας τὸν θάνατον, ἀλλὰ δίδου μοι χεῖρα καὶ σῶζου." ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ τοσούτων περιστοιχούμενον ἑαυτὸν ὁρῶν καὶ μὴ πρὸς τοσούτους ἀντέχειν ἔτι δυνάμενον δίδωσι χεῖρας τῷ Μουχούμετ· καὶ ὡς ἐφ' ἵππον τοῦτον ἐπιβιβάσας τοὺς αὐτοῦ πόδας δεσμεῖ, ὡς μὴ ῥαδίως ἀποδράσαι δύνασθαι. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ τῷ Εὐσταθίῳ συμπεσόντα. Cf. Gautier, "Le synode des Blachernes," 259 n. 1.

87 *Annae Comnenae Alexias*, 11.5.6, pp. 338.15–17.

88 Gkoutzioukostas, "Byzantine Officials," 75–76.

89 We would like to thank Chrestos Tzitziles, Professor of Historical and Balkan Linguistics at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, for his valuable help concerning the etymology and analysis of the family name *Καμμύτζης*.

90 See Leontiades, "Evidence" (n. 81 above), 105, who also suggests such an etymology and points out that the proper name *καμμύτσης* is also attested since medieval times. See also N. Andriotis, *Lexikon der Archaismen in Neugriechischen Dialekten* (Vienna, 1974), 293–94; H. Moritz, *Die Zunamen bei den byzantinischen Historikern und Chronisten*, vol. 1, Programm des K. humanistischen Gymnasiums in Landshut für das Schuljahr 1896/97 (Landshut, 1897), 13; N. Bees, "Φιλολογικαὶ παρασημειώσεις," *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος* 3 (1909): 234–35; Ph. Koukoules, "Νεοελληνικῶν τινῶν ἐπιθέτων σημασία καὶ ὀρθογραφία," *Ἀθηνᾶ* 53 (1949): 210. Cf. also Savvides, "Μανουὴλ Καμ(μ)ύτζης," 147 (121) and 153 (127) n. 13; Jordanov, *Corpus* (n. 2 above), 2:177.

91 Cf. *LBG* s.v. *καμυτζίζω*.

92 See E. Kriaras, *Λεξικό της Μεσαιωνικής Ελληνικής Δημόδου Γραμματείας, 1100–1669*, vol. 7 (Thessalonike, 1980), 312, s.v. *καμμυτσουρίζω*.

93 Theodoros Prodromos 64a, pp. 498.23–24. Cf. Georgiou, "Ἀνώνυμος Καμύτζης" (n. 24 above), 39.

94 Manganeios Prodromos, "Παρηγορητικὸς τῇ θυγατρὶ τῆς πορφυρογεννήτου κυρᾶς Θεοδώρας," in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens grecs*, ed. E. Miller, vol. 2 (Paris, 1881; repr. Farnborough, 1967), 503.18–19. Cf. Georgiou, "Ἀνώνυμος Καμύτζης," 39.

given name in the Kamytzes family, derived from the Komnenians.

After the capture of Constantinople by the Latins (1204) the family ranked among the elite military aristocracy in Nicaea, and continued to belong to it until the coronation of Michael (VIII) Palaiologos as emperor (1259). In the Palaiologan period the family still remained in the aristocracy, as is documented by a contemporary seal of a sebastos Kamytzes (no. 18), which also attests a relationship by marriage with the Batatzai, who had also belonged to the highest military aristocracy in Nicaea, although there is no further mention in the narrative sources of members of the Kamytzes family occupying prominent positions.

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Appendix

There are also some seals formerly attributed to members of the Kamytzes family where the reading of the relevant inscriptions is uncertain or incorrect.

(1) Fogg 2218: Basileios, *spatharokandidatos epi tou Chrysotriklinou* (before the middle of the eleventh century).⁹⁵ The family name is perhaps Kanaboutzes (?).

(2) DO 47.2.1053 (before the middle of the eleventh century).⁹⁶ We would prefer something like Chalkoutzes.

(3) A Bulgarian seal (last third of the eleventh century) that because of its fragmentary condition has an

uncertain family name. Only the beginning KAM is preserved; its editor proposed *Tzykandeles*,⁹⁷ while W. Seibt considered *Kamitzos* [for *Kamytzios*] (Ioannes, *krites* and *megas kourator* of Mytilene).⁹⁸ The latter proposition was also accepted in the *Prosopography of the Byzantine World* (2011) (www.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/content/index.html; Ioannes 20941. Boulloterion 3375).

(4) In the first line on the reverse of a bulla (third quarter of the eleventh century) kept in the Museum of Iznik (Nikaia) we read KAAΛICT (T indiscernible) for *Kallistos* as given name of the seal's owner (protospatharios epi tou Chrysotriklinou and tourmarch of Paphlagonia).⁹⁹ The editor suggested KAMICI for Kamitzes.¹⁰⁰

95 The specimen was already mentioned by Jordanov, *Corpus*, 2:177 (1), with a date in the eleventh century and the erroneous suggestion that Kamytzes was the family name. The legend starts with Κ(ύρι)ε and not with Θ(εοτό)κε. The author suggested that the owner was the father of Eustathios Kamytzes. See also *PBW* (<http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/pbw2011/entity/boulloterion/5362>) and Campagnolo-Pothitou and Cheynet, *Collection George Zacos* (n. 2 above), 241, who accept the owner of the seal as Kamytzes. Cf. also Kazhdan and Ronchey, *Aristocrasia* (n. 1 above), 309 n. 452 (the same erroneous entry).

96 Α Βασίλειος, βασιλικὸς πρωτοσπαθᾶριος ἐπὶ τοῦ Χρυσοτρικλίνου, κριτὴς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου, τοῦ βήλου, τῆς βασιλικῆς σακέλλης καὶ μυστογράφος ὁ [...] τζης (Βούρτζης or Καμύτζης or less probably Χαλκούτζης) is mentioned on a seal (middle of the eleventh century) published by V. Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin*, vol. 2, *L'administration centrale* (Paris, 1981), no. 145 (eleventh century), but it seems extremely improbable to read Kamytzes.

97 See I. Jordanov, *Corpus of Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria*, vol. 1, *Byzantine Seals with Geographical Names* (Sofia, 2003), 49.1; idem, "Byzantine Lead Seals from the Village of Melnitsa (district of Elkhovo, Bulgaria)," *SBS* 7 (2002): no. 32 (eleventh century).

98 V. S. Šandrovskaja and W. Seibt, *Byzantinische Bleisiegel der Staatlichen Eremitage mit Familiennamen*, part 1, *Sammlung Lichačev—Namen von A bis I* (Vienna, 2004), 103. Cf. A. Kaldellis and S. Efthymiadis, *The Prosopography of Byzantine Lesbos 284–1355 A.D.* (Vienna, 2010), 88 (no. 94).

99 Cf. Gkoutzioukostas, "Byzantine Officials" (n. 16 above), 77.

100 Cheynet, "Sceaux du Musée d'Iznik" (n. 81 above), 229–30, no. 13. Cf. also Kazhdan and Ronchey, *Aristocrasia*, 309 n. 452 (as entry for the family name Kamytzes).

